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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Wool-Growing and the Tariff. A Study in the Economic History of the United States. By CHESTER WHITNEY WRIGHT, PHD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. 8vo, pp. xii+362. \$2.00.

In this volume we have an excellent example of the kind of study which needs to be made of all our leading industries. The author has given a very full account of the development of wool-growing in this country throughout the whole period of our history and has considered with due care all the circumstances which have influenced it, giving especial attention to the effect of the protective tariff duties. To do this satisfactorily he has been led into a much broader field than the main title of his book would indicate. The industry he undertakes to investigate turns out to have wider relations and to be affected by a greater variety of influences than a cursory view of it would lead us to expect. The importance of foreign competition has compelled him to study the national wool market and to note the conditions affecting the production of wool in the world at large. He has had to trace the rise of wool manufacture in the United States almost as fully as that of wool-growing. The fact that sheep-raising is only one of many industries to which the labor and capital of our farmers may be turned has compelled him to consider the general agricultural situation in order to explain the growth and decay of the industry in different sections at different periods. For similar reasons he has had to give attention to such broad features of our economic development as the growth of improved transportation, the settlement of the West, and the rise of internal commerce, with the change which it brought from a condition of local isolation with only domestic or town industry to an organized national economy. The results of this broad treatment of his subject justifies his subtitle of "A Study in the Economic History of the United States." It is the multiplication of just such studies of our principal industries which will make possible the writing of that general economic history of the country for which there seems to be so great a demand. It is to be hoped that similar volumes may speedily be forthcoming on the cattle and meat industry, wheat and flour, tobacco, lumber, and coal, not to mention purely manufacturing industries like silk, boots and shoes, and many others.

It is evident at once that the value and interest of this volume does not arise from the importance of sheep husbandry in our economic affairs. The raising of sheep for their fleece alone has never played a very large part in American agriculture. It cannot be compared with our other great agricultural staples: cotton, wheat, and that vast industry of cattle, hogs, and corn. Nor has it for long been equal in importance to dairying. Indeed from one point of view its history is a record of failure rather than of success. It belongs to a group of agricultural industries which were greatly stimulated by the industrial changes of the nineteenth century. The effect of the so-called Industrial Revolution upon agriculture was to create in western Europe a steadily growing market for raw materials and food. The demand was for cotton and wool at

first, the raw materials of the textile industries. Later on, with the growth of industrial centers having dense populations, it was for breadstuffs, meats, and dairy produce. Improved transportation facilities tended to give to the newly settled communities of the world the chief share in supplying this market, and this has been a large factor in their prosperity. From the very first, as the new demand arose, the United States has taken the leading position as a source of supply for cotton, breadstuffs, and meat products. In wool, however, she has not only failed to secure any share in the expanding international trade, but has not even been able to supply her own domestic needs. The explanation of our failure in this industry is scarcely less important or interesting to the student of our economic history than that of our success along other lines.

The author has spared no pains to investigate all the conditions which have influenced the industry in this country and helped to determine its status. Its failure to develop along with the other great branches of agriculture has not been due to a lack of natural resources adapted to it, nor to the failure of the people to appreciate its importance and make strenuous efforts to promote its growth. There are vast regions in this country with a climate and soil well adapted to sheep-raising, as is proven by the fact that in almost every part of the country our farmers have at one time or another kept a considerable number of sheep and in some regions a great many. No other industry has received more attention from enterprising individuals or from agricultural associations and state boards of agriculture. Moreover it is almost the only branch of agriculture to which the assistance of the federal government in the shape of protective tariff duties has been directly given. In nearly all other industries the farmer's share in the benefits of protection, such as they were, has been indirect. Protection has been expected to benefit him by the building up of a home market for his products. But the wool-grower, like the manufacturer, has been assisted directly by protection. Why in spite of all this has the industry failed to keep pace with the other great agricultural staples of the country?

The determining factors have apparently been two: on the one hand the competition of foreign countries either economically better adapted to sheep husbandry than our own, or less favorable to other branches of agriculture; and on the other hand the competition within our country of other branches of agriculture for the labor and capital of our farmers. The author has not given the first of these as much attention as it seems to me to deserve. In describing the changes which have taken place in the location of the industry within the United States he has incidentally pointed out the tendency of the industry in the world at large to move away from the densely populated regions with fertile soil and to fix itself in the more distant and inaccessible regions, where semi-arid climate or backward social conditions render other forms of industry more difficult; and he has mentioned some of the reasons for this change. But his treatment is too brief to be satisfactory. He would have done well to give more attention to the conditions affecting the industry among our successful competitors. Why has wool-growing prospered so mightily in Australia, South Africa, and South America? Why is the industry carried on so extensively in Turkey, Russia, China, and India? The success of the industry in these countries is certainly one of the reasons for our failure to secure any share in the international wool trade.

In the author's opinion it is the second factor which has chiefly shaped the development of the industry in this country; and here he has left little to be desired in thoroughness and skill of treatment. Sheep-raising has at one time or another been carried on to a greater or less extent in every section of the country; but with one exception, to be noted presently, it has always been a part of a mixed system of agriculture. Nowhere has it been the dominant interest of the inhabitants over any large area of country. It has always been carried on in connection with the production of wheat and corn, with the raising of hogs and cattle, or with dairying, and usually several of these industries have been carried on together. It has always been a comparatively easy matter for the farmers to increase or diminish their flocks, and they have been quick to do this whenever the profits to be secured in sheep-raising seemed greater or less than were yielded by these other branches of agriculture. Whatever economic changes affected any of this group of industries was sure to affect the farmer's attitude toward the sheep industry and consequently to cause an increase or decrease in the flocks of the country. As might be expected under such conditions the course of development of the sheep industry has been very fluctuating. It has constantly changed its local situation; and its importance in the different localities has been continually changing. There was a time when its chief center was New England and the Middle States; and another when it was in the Middle West east of the Mississippi. At one time Texas and the Pacific coast were important seats of the industry. In none of these localities, however, has it been able to find a stable economic basis. Everywhere it has ultimately declined, being supplanted by one or more of those agricultural industries which constantly compete with it for the labor and capital of the farmers.

Such appears to have been the chief influence in determining the status of the industry everywhere except in the one section noted above. This is the high, semi-arid region of the far West. In this region the situation of the industry has been quite different. Here for the first time it has found an independent economic basis. It is not carried on in connection with other industries, and it is not possible to substitute other industries for it over a large part of this region. The only possibility of such substitution is the use of the range for grazing cattle instead of sheep, and this, we are told, cannot be done to any great extent. Here at last the industry has freed itself from that domestic competition which has steadily undermined it in other sections. Henceforth its status in this country will depend more upon the competition of wool-growers in foreign countries than upon the competition of grain, cattle, and hog production and dairying in our own country.

There is still a third kind of competition which has had considerable influence upon the woolgrowing industry at different times and still continues to affect it. It is the use of other materials in place of wool to satisfy the wants of consumers. The most important material substituted for wool has been cotton, the supply of which has often exerted an important influence upon the wool market. This substitution has sometimes come about by the public's preferring to buy cotton instead of woolen goods, and sometimes, especially of late, by the use of cotton as a material in wool manufacture. From the first this has been a common practice among American wool manufacturers. The cheap satinets and worsteds, so important a part of our domestic manufacture in early times, had

a cotton warp; and it is said that in the hosiery and knit goods of the present time four or five pounds of cotton to every pound of wool are used. Other vegetable fibers as well as the hair of various animals are also used as a substitute for wool. Another practice very common in recent times is having the same effect in decreasing the demand for wool. It is the employment of old wool fiber or shoddy in the manufacture of new cloths. So largely have these substitutions taken place that since 1890 the per capita consumption of wool in the United States has actually declined though for sixty years previous it had been steadily increasing.

So long as the popular impression prevails that the protective tariff is one of the leading factors, if not the most important one, in our economic development, students will need to give it a larger share of attention than its real importance justifies. If the American public is ever to give up its exaggerated idea of the influence of the tariff upon industry and be brought to a reasonable view of this subject, it must be by considering carefully the effect of such duties upon single industries. Only in that way can the prevalent fallacy of *cum hoc ergo propter hoc*, so dear to the hearts of our congressmen and political speakers, be sufficiently exposed. The influence of the general tariff policy upon the economic condition of the country as a whole is so hopelessly mixed with numerous other influences, that opinion regarding it must always depend upon broad views of economic principles and public policy, and for the general public will be more largely a matter of faith than of knowledge. By confining attention to a single industry it is possible to show clearly the various influences acting upon it and if not to distinguish accurately the effect of the duties from the other influences, at least to form a probable conjecture of their effect. This has been done by the author in this study with a skill that deserves high commendation.

The relation of the protective policy to wool-growing is more than ordinarily complicated, first, because of the great variety of influences which at one time or another have affected the growth of the industry; and second, because two industries and two sets of duties are involved. In order to protect the wool-grower, that is, to raise the price of his product, it was necessary to create for him a home market as well as to exclude foreign wool from the country. In other words, it was necessary to build up the industry of wool manufacture in order to render the protective duties on wool effective. The wool-grower has been equally interested in both the duties on wool and those on the manufacture of wool. In estimating the influence of the tariff on his industry, therefore, it is necessary to consider with equal care both industries and both sets of duties.

While the author has not failed in general to do this, the result of his attempt to estimate the influence of the tariff upon wool manufacture since the Civil War is hardly as satisfactory as could be wished. He notes the remarkable progress which the manufacture made from 1860 on in securing the domestic market, especially in the period since 1890. By 1905, out of the total consumption of manufactures of wool in the country, only from 6 to 8 per cent was of foreign origin. "The domestic manufacture virtually supplies the American demand and is more firmly entrenched than ever." The more important circumstances favoring this growth of the industry are mentioned, especially as regards the worsted manufacture. They relate for the most part to improvements in

machinery. It is also pointed out that the "American manufacturers learned much during the period of free wool, from a better acquaintance with free wools as well as from the necessity of meeting more severe competition from abroad." The fact that the industry enjoyed an increasing measure of protection during the period is clearly brought out, and also that a decline in the value of imports followed this increase. The reader is then left to draw his own conclusions as to the extent to which the growth of the woolen manufacture has been due to protection. This may be as far as the facts adduced will warrant the author in going, but it is hardly satisfactory; and the reader cannot escape the impression that the same attention to details, and the same careful analysis of influences which he has given to the industry of wool-growing, might have enabled him to draw just as definite conclusions as he has reached regarding the influence of the tariff on that industry.

In considering the influence of the tariff on wool-growing his method is the same, but the work is much more thoroughly done. All the conditions that have influenced the industry are fully described and their relations to it pointed out. By comparing prices of the same, or nearly the same, grades of wool in the domestic and foreign markets, and by noting the change of prices in the domestic market during the period of free wool, he is able to show definitely the amount of assistance in the shape of higher prices which the tariff has afforded to the wool-grower. Putting all the facts together he draws the following conclusion: "The most that can be said for the tariff is that, by raising the price of wool above that in the world's market, it has somewhat increased the number of sheep in the country, chiefly since the war and during the time after the rise of the industry in the far West, where the basis was independent of general farming. But though the tariff has meant a greater number of sheep than would otherwise be kept, our study points to the conclusion that the increase thus brought about is but a relatively small proportion of the total. The assertion, frequently met, that the very existence of the sheep industry of the country depends on the duties, finds no substantiation in the facts of history." No candid person who reads the mass of evidence upon which this conclusion is based is likely to question it in any particular. The writer has done a great service both to the student of economic history and to those interested in an important question of current politics.

Into the question of whether or no the country as a whole has benefited from the policy which has transferred so many millions of dollars from the pockets of the consumers of woolen goods to the pockets of the wool-grower and manufacturer the author declines to enter in this work. It is perhaps wise for him to leave the discussion of this question to others; but it should be noted that this is the real question involved in the protective tariff controversy and is the one concerning which the general public needs enlightenment even more than it needs knowledge of facts concerning the effect of duties upon our different industries. The ability and disposition to consider such questions have long been on the decline among our public men, and the recent tariff debates in Congress, as well as discussions in the public press, would seem to indicate that both have well-nigh disappeared from among us. A comparison of the utterances of public men on the subject in this generation with those of the time of Webster, Calhoun, and McDuffie is not calculated to yield much encourage-

ment to the economist regarding the influence of his science upon public opinion. With all our study of economics, both academic and popular, there is far less clear thinking and speaking today on this economic question, at least, than there was two generations ago.

G. S. CALLENDER

YALE UNIVERSITY

Wage-earning Women. By ANNIE MARION MACLEAN, PH.D., with an Introduction by GRACE H. DODGE. New York: Macmillan, 1910. 8vo, pp. xv+202. \$1.25.

This is the latest addition to the "Citizen's Library," but on the whole cannot be said to maintain the high standard of excellence to which that series has usually been held. The book is the outcome, and embodies part of the results, of an investigation undertaken by a special committee of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations. The field work was done by some forty young women under the general direction of Dr. MacLean, with a view to studying "the possibilities lying before the Association movement throughout the country." The book is designed, we are told, to give to the more or less inexperienced workers of the Y.W.C.A. "glimpses of the women wage-earners as they toiled in different parts of the country in 1907." The word "glimpses" is used advisedly. With chapters on the women workers of New England, New York, Chicago, New Jersey towns, the Middle West, hop pickers in Oregon, and fruit packers and pickers in California respectively, a book of two hundred pages is very likely to be a superficial production. But superficiality may be forgiven and a work accounted well done and valuable if only the "glimpses" it gives be clear and typical. In some cases, notably in that of the Oregon hop pickers, we do get a tolerably clear notion of conditions, but on the whole the book leaves the impression of a hurried jotting down of data gathered on the run. Nowhere do we get a clear picture of the working girl's *life*, or any suggestion of her psychology—her experience, her interests, her attitude toward the world of industry, toward society, and specially what her attitude toward "workers" from the Y.W.C.A. is likely to be. And this last we conceive is rather an important matter for that organization.

Moreover the author seems often divided between a desire to state the facts, on the one hand, and on the other to draw conclusions or to create an attitude in the mind of her reader before the returns are all in. Why not reserve exclamations over the shortcomings of society until the case is stated? It must be said, however, that the author has done very well in resisting whatever temptation there may have been to draw a dark picture darker than it really is. So far as conditions are pictured they seem pictured fairly.

A list of uplift forces is given, but one is impressed with their collective inadequacy—barring the possibilities in unionism—and the disproportionate amount of effort and attention that some of them have claimed. A little light is shed on the presence of married women in industry. The glimpses of the work women do in factories make us wonder if women are to have most of the dirty work to do in industry as they have had in domestic service. The importance of recreational opportunities and of proper lodging facilities for working girls